

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE
PORTRAITURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTY
IN HIS
SOLITUDES
AND
SUFFERINGS.

With the Addition of His
Majesties Prayer; and His Reasons
against the Institution of the
High Court of Justice.

R O M. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere & mali pati, Regium est.

M. DC. XLIX.





The Contents.

1. **U**Pon His Majesties calling
this last Parliament p. 1
2. Upon the Earle of Straffords
death p. 8
3. Upon His Majesties going to the
House of Commons p. 18
4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tu-
matts p. 25
5. Upon His Majesties passing the
Bill for the Triennial Parlia-
ments: And after setting this,
during the pleasure of the two
Houses p. 38
6. Upon His Majesties retirement
from Westminster p. 50
7. Upon the Queens departure, and
absence out of England p. 61
8. Upon His Majesties repulse at
Hull, and the fates of the Ho-
thams p. 70
- A 2 9. Upon

The Contents.

9. Upon the Lifting, and raising Ar-
mies against the King p.80
10. Upon their seizing the Kings
Magazines, Forts, Navy, and
Militia p.100
11. Upon the 19. Propositions first
sent to the King; and more after-
wards p.113
12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles
in Ireland p.135
13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots,
and their coming p.152
14. Upon the Covenant p.167
15. Upon the many Jealousies rai-
sed, and Scandals cast upon the
King, to stir up the People against
Him p.186
16. Upon the Objection against the
Common-Prayer-Book p.211
17. Of the differences between the
King, and the two Houses in point
of Church-Government p.226
18. Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and
other Offers made by the King p.256
19. Upon the various events of the
War;

The Contents.

- War; Victories, and Defeats p.265
20. Upon the Reformations of the Times p.279
21. Upon His Majesties Letters, taken and divulged p.291
22. Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford; and going to the Scots p.302
23. Upon the Scots delivering the KING to the English; and his Captivity at Holmeby p.308
24. Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains p.315
25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KING'S solitude at Holmeby p.334
26. Upon the Armes Surprisall of the KING at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City p.341
27. To the Prince of Wales p.355
28. Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non addresses, and

The Contents.

His Majesties closser Imprisonment in Carisbrooke-Castle
p.386

Additions.

- A** *Prayer in time of Captivity*
p.413
- A Prayer and Confession, made in
and for the times of affliction* 415
- A Prayer in time of eminent danger*
p.417
- A Copy of a Letter sent from the
Prince to the King* p.418
- His Majesties Reasons against the
pretended Jurisdiction of the high
Court of Justice, which he inten-
ded to have delivered in writing
on Munday January 22. 1648.*
p.420
- A Relation of what passed between
his Majesty, the Lady Elizabeth,
and the Duke of Gloucester, the
day before His Death* p.428
- Another Relation from the Lady Eli-
zabeths own Hand* p.430
- Two Epitaphs* p.433,435



An explanation of the Embleme.

PONderibus genus omne mali, probri-
que gravatus,
Vixque ferenda ferens, palma ut de-
pressa, resurgo.

Ac, velut undarum fluctus ventique
furorem

Irati populi rupes immota repello.

Clarius è tenebris, celestis stella,
corusco

Victor & æternum felici pace trium-
pho.

Auro splendentem rutilo, gemmisque
decoram,

At curis gravidam spernendo calco
coronam;

Spinofam, at ferri facilem, quo spes mea
Christi

Auxilio, Nobis vera est tractare vo-
luptas;

Æternam, fixis fidei, semperque bea-
tam,

In calos oculis spectro; Nobisque pa-
ratam.

Quod vanum est, sperno: quod Christi
Gratia præbet

Amplecti studium est: virtutis Gloria
merces. In



In English thus :

*Though clog'd with weights of miseries,
As Palm depress'd, I higher rise.*

*And as th'unmoved Rock out-braves
The boystrous winds, and raging Waves:*

*So triumph I. And in dark night
Of sad afflictions shine more bright.*

*That Splendid, but yet toylsome Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.*

*With joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.*

*That glorious-happy Crown I see,
Depriv'd whereof I cannot be.*

*I slight Vain things; and doe embrace,
Glory the just reward of Grace.*

Τὸ Χρῖ ἐδὲν ὑδίκησε πλεὺς πόλιν, ἔδδὲ
τὸ Κἀππκ. Ιυλ.









EIKON BASILIKH.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affaires, then by mine own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crowne, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparkes, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with

B

My

2 ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

My selfe to give all just satisfacti-
on to modest and sober desires,
and to redresse all publique grie-
vances in Church and State ; I
hoped by My freedom, and their
moderation , to prevent all mis-
carriages in this : In which, as I
feared affaires would meet with
some Passion and prejudice in o-
ther men, so I resolved they should
find least of them in My selfe; not
doubting , but by the weight of
Reason I should counterpoize the
over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed , sorry to heare,
with what partiality and popular
heat Elections were carried in
many places ; yet hoping that
the gravity and discretion of o-
ther Gentlemen would allay and
fix the Commons to a due tempe-
rament, (guiding some mens wel-
meaning Zeale by such rules of
moderation as are best both to
preserve and restore the health
of all States, and Kingdomes :)

No

No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My selfe; who knowing best the largenesse of My owne Heart toward My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My selfe most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow betweene Mee and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens interests gave Me many obligations to seeke and preserve the Love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen My selfe in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to ob-

lige My friends, but Mine enemies also : exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution : No man having a greater zeale to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity and Order, then My selfe; whom it most concernes both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civill dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should

should by free and full advice in
in Parliament be convinced to be
amisse ; and to grant whatever
My Reason and Conscience told
Me, was fit to be desired ; I wish I
had kept My selfe within those
bounds, and not suffered My own
Judgement to have beene over-
borne in some things, more by
others Importunities, than their
Arguments ; My confidence had
lesse betrayed My selfe, and My
Kingdomes, to those Advantages,
which some men sought for, who
wanted nothing but power, and
occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there
was no preventing of Gods Ju-
stice, from reaping that glory in
our Calamities, which wee robb'd
him of in our Prosperity.

*For thou (O Lord) hast made us
see, that Resolutions of future Re-
forming doe not alwayes satisfie thy
Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for
former miscarriages* B 3 Our

Our finnes have over-laid our hopes ; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee : Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our finnes, Thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; Because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us ; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessing, and better hearts to enjoy them,

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble afflictions, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My people, unfeignedly to repent of the finnes wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraigne goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our counsels, over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace

turne our Poysons into Antidote.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for thy blis'd Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Savours sake, Amen.

2. Upon the Earle of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great error
and

and many enemies : Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre , he must needs(as the Sun)raise many envious exhalations , which condensed by a popular *oxium* , were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did , driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions : yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him , as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice , and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires , then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle : when betweene My owne unsatisfiednesse in Con-

science, and a necessity (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some People ; I was perswaded by those, that I thinke wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just ; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed, I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death : That I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret : which, as a signe of My Repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to beare, who
will

will av. idē inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne conscience, thereby to salve State Sores; to calme the stormes of popular discontent, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the World the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My People greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at least by denying to Signe that destructive B I L L, according to that Justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since. I gratified some mens unthankfull
im-

importunities with so cruell a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have beene so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the People, that no men have beene harassed and crushed more than they: He only hath beene least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the Vote of My owne Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully conscious, those judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome; as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) And for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the
peace

peace of my Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gaine alike, consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharpe touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when
the

the Bill passed that House : And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straford's* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemne him to die : who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then satisfied that o' right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tell the World, that some remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would

would bee very loath should bee repeated to themselves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoule , for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of a voyding publick miſchiefes (which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and man, to all Poſterity , that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre ; which ſome men will needs charge on Me, to eaſe their own ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive mee that act of ſinfull compliance , which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man.
Since

Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have beene a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sinne is ever before mee.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean: wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learne Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast
for

for that, among other finnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Iustice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Iudge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soule, for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord heare the voyce of thy Sons,
and my Saviours Bloud, which speakes
better

better things ; O make Me, and my People, to heare the voyce of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

3. Upon His Majesties going to the house of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and feares ; yea, and many of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds,
with

with which I thought my selfe so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyle my Kingdomes : of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens owne hands, who were the chiefe contrivers of the following innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick Peace, which to
preserve

preserve by calling in Question halfe a dozen men, in a faire and legall way (which God knowes was all my deligne) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and my Kingdome right in case they had beene found guilty ; or else to have cleared their Innuocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this sparke (though I sought by all speedy and possible meanes to quench it) soone kindled, all the World is witnesse : The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knowes, I had no such intent ; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then

then said, or did, the least Intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times ; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard , and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, then I was un-assured of not having some affronts casts upon me, if I had none with Me to preserve a reverence to Mee ; For many People had (at that time) learned to thinke those hard thoughts , which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The summe of that businesse
was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Pro-
tectors

rectors of their Lawes & Liberties, then my selfe, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations ; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, We must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had scene fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands ; the more is the pitty.

But

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all My designe : I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance ; and I was resolved rather to beare the repulse with patience , then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my Witnesse in Heaven, and in My Heart ? If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent : or if there were any such wickednesse in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soule , and treade my life to the ground , and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines , and bringing to light the

the hidden things of darknesse, shew
thy selfe.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed
(as with wise and godly men they
cannot be) any argument of my sin,
in that matter : more then their Im-
punity among good men is any sure
token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they
have done amisse, though they are not
punished for it in this World.

Save thy servant from the privy
conspiracies, and open violence of
bloudy and unreasonable men, accord-
ing to the uprightness of my heart,
and the innocency of my hands in this
matter.

Plead my cause, and maintaine my
right, O thou that sittest in the Throne,
judging rightly, that thy servant may
ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischeifes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soone after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storme at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the World hath more of horreur.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffers the confluence

fluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My selfe and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Feaver, alwayes encreasing to higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a guard against those feares, which some men scared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was

was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must bee taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued, by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall proposalls against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civill, must bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most

mind to bring forth confusion and ruin upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or faire production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by such unlawfull and
 irreligious

irreligious means ? But mens passions and Gods directions seldome agree; violent delignes and motions must have sutable engines, such as too much attend their owne ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turne their clamorous importunities? some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it, so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts, and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My selfe and some of both Houses ; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience ; Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery : So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the knowne Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to
convoke

convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, and Industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive, and devoure.*

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My selfe not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of
C 4 their

their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for any man for popular terrors to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardinesse, beyond true valour, for a wise man to set himselfe against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I mediated a Warre, (when I went from *whitehall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God knows, I did not then think of a Warre.

Nor

Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had supposed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all means, I denied My selfe in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and teare those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reasonable faire Quarter; I was resolved to beare much, and did so, but I did not thinke My selfe

bound to prostitute the Majesty of My Place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this bulinesse of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sinne in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Mem-
bers

bers of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all things, and to consent to it so farre as I could comprehend it; but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place
afforded

afforded such confluence of various and vicious humours, as that where it was unhappily conveyed. But we must leave ail to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely fly, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules again't thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

*But thou that gatherest the waters into one place, and madest the
dry*

dry land to appeare, and after didst
asswage the floud which drowned
the world by the word of thy power;
Rebuke those boasts of the people, and
deliver Me from the rudenesse and
strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us,
the freedoms of our Councils and
Parliaments, make us unpassionately
to see the light of Reason and Reli-
gion, and with all order and gravity
to follow it, as it becomes Men and
Christians, so shall we praise thy
name, who art the God of Order and
Counsell.

What man cannot, or will not re-
presse, thy omnipotent Justice can
and will.

O Lord give them that are yet
living, a timely sense and sorrow for
their great sinne, whom thou knowest
guilty of raising or not suppressing
those disorders: Let shame here, and
not suffering hereafter be their pu-
nishment.

Set bounds to our passions by
Reason.

Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in it selfe.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jesus Christs sake. Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments : And after setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the Generall good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the

the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three Yeers; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compasse publique affaires; I was perswaded to grant that Bil of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses,

Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predecessours; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them as to deny My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with

moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keepe the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lies more than any mans, since by those Lawes, My Rights as a King, would be preserved no lesse than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I scone repented Me of setting that Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to doe; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them: I still counted My self

undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gaine and confirme the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet dispaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it : when Men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice ; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineffe, who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of My people will strive to returne such retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of My
con-

confidence and My sufferings for them ; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor small, nor short ; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall ; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subjects miseries ; while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falsly divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undoe what by My Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, so farre to bind My own hands at their request, if I had shortly
meant

meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries, yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose blacke arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits would force them to conjure them down againe.

Nor if I had justly resented at my indignities put upon Me, or others; was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meauer sort of the people, that I could not have given My Enemies greater,
and

and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, the eby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knowes I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for Mee to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword; which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no feare was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thanke God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my owne heart, in passing that
great

great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seeme lesse a Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soule, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Mee downe headlong.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it selfe, together with Mee, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards

hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their owne passions, either to doe much evill themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I still appeale, whose All-discerning Iustice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

*Thou gavest me a heart to grant
much*

much to My Subjects ; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done , though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when wee hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too ; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others feares, I have raised Mine own ; and by settling them , have unsettled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous storme, which neither admits My retierne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

'Tis

Tis easie for Thee to keepe Me safe in the love and confidence of My pe-ple ; nor is it hard for Thee to pre-serve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many , which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest In-dulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conser-ved on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So although by My sinnes I am by other mens sins deprived of thy tem-porall blessings, yet I may be happy to

D enjoy

enjoy the comfort of thy mercies,
which often raises the greatest Suffer-
ers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesties retire-
ment from Westminster.

VWith what unwilling-
nes I withdrew from
Westminster, let them judge, who,
unprovided of tackling and vi-
tuall are forced by Sea to a
storm; yet better do so, then ven-
ture splitting or sinking on a Lee
shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall* till I was
driven away by shame more then
feare; to see the barbarous rude-
nesse of those Tumults, who resol-
ved they would take the bold-
nesse to demand any thing, and
not leave either My selfe, or the
Members of Parliament the li-
berty of our Reason and Consci-
ence to deny them any thing.

No

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My people. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just con-

tent when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all : if some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they dranke ; whom no fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome ; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade ; but force and terroure as to beasts to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pittie, or redemption that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his soule, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor doe I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that
free-

freedome, which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none but God to be above Me, as obliging me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soule, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassallage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality to consent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voyce as King, they are not a-

shamed to seeke to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My selfe, as King, or the House of Peeres with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyne them to passe. I thinke My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing only by such Lawes, as My People with the House of Peeres have Chosen, and My selfe have consented to. I shall never thinke My selfe conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law

Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person , or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error , opinion , activeness , weaknesse , or wilfulness and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my Mind ;) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudeness , and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason , and must

serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what hee takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meere force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Proposals. I may, in Truth and uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Man; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a faire way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then

I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them : yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny My selfe then them ; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My selfe.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My selfe to be Master ; but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes ; (all which I am bound to preserve as

much as morally lies in Me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute; nor shall any Man gaine My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to weare a Crowne of Thornes with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexible-nesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions, when instead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servan-
in this Native, Rationall and Relie-
gious freedome; For this I believe
is thy will, that we should maintaine;
who, though thou dost justly require
us, to submit our understandings and
wils to thine; whose wisdom and
goodnesse can neither erre, nor mis-
guide us, and so farre to deny our
carnal reason, in order to thy Sacred
Mysteries, and commands, that wee
should believe and obey rather then
dispute them; yet dost thou expect
from us, onely such a reasonable ser-
vice of thee, as not to do any thing
for thee, against our consciences; and
as to the desires of men, enjoynest us
to try all things by the touch-stone
of Reason and Lawes, which are the
rules of civill Justice; and to declare
our consents to that onely which our
Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how un-
willing I was to delect that place, in
which thou hast set Me, and where-
to the affaires of my Kingdomes at
present did call me. My

My People can witnesse how far I have beene content for their good, to deny My selfe, in what thou subjected to My disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I thinke in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire and equall wayes, without the slavery of My Soule.

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer mee not to subject my Reason

Reason to other mens passions, and
designes, which to Me seeme unrea-
sonable, unjust, and irreligious: So
shall I serve thee in the truth and
uprightnesse of My heart, though I
cannot satisfie these men.

Though I bee driven from among
them, yet give Me grace to walke al-
wayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and
Justice; for these, I know, will bring
Mee at last to peace and happinesse
with thee; though for these I have
much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours
sake.

7. Upon the Queens depar-
ture, and absence out of Eng-
land.

Although I have much cause
to be troubled at my Wifes
departure from Mee, and out of
My

My Dominions ; yet not Her absence so much , as the scandall of that necessity which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That Shee should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants , to withdraw for Her safety : This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Armes against their King a Protestant. For I looke upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland ; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I feare such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a further alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion , which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away ; and
not

not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seeke and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firme to their former settled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady should bee any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenesse and barbarity knowes not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her selfe. The fault is, that she is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Mee, to study
her

her Security, who is only in danger for My sake ; I am content to be tossed, weather-eaten , and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personall dangers , that I can perish but halfe, if shee be preserved : In whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies , although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects ; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them , by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain
expected

expected from those that dispute their Loyalty : Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie so noble and peacefull a soule should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those, who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Mee in my afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest night ; and assure the envious world, that shee loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar ; for wee see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfe-punishing sin, Ingratitude of those, who
having

having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Us ; and those of Our own Household are become our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge : who thinke to satisfie all obligations to duty by their Corban of Religion : and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far veniall, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes ; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or reteyned in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with
her

her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my selfe.

Thou O Lord whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us on Earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies, and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though wee differ in some things, as to Religion, which is my greatest temporall infelicity; yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seeke, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory, our publicke relations, and our soules eternall good; and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbeliefe, or disobedience to what wee know, be our misery or our willfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my subjects which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learne, nor any hardning of her, in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie,

Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine, that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures;

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Sonne Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. Upon

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse
at Hull, and the fates of the
Hothams.*

MY repulse at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to bee made how patiently I could bear the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy

thy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after, to over-spread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers : That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse ; and rather not be begun then not carried on ; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises and soft palliations of some men ; whose words were sometime smooother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good
Con-

Conscience, thought it my best policy with patience to beare what I could not remedy . And in this (I thank God) I had , the better of *Hatham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing , unbecoming My self , or unsuitable to that temper , which in greatest injuries, I think best, becomes a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, then a King ; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear ; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man more then his greatest enemies can ; for these give their malice
at

a full impression on our soules,
which other wayes cannot reach
very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God
not long after so pleaded, and
avenged My cause, in the eye of
the world, that the most wilfully
blind cannot avoid the displea-
sure to see it, and with some re-
morse and fear to own it as a no-
table stroke, and prediction of
divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unre-
proached, unthreatned, uncursed
by any language or secret impre-
cation of Mine, onely blasted
with the conscience of his own
wickednesse, and falling from one
inconstancy to another, not long
after payes his own and his eldest
Sonnes heads, as forfeitures of
their disloyalty, to those men,
from whom surely he might have
expected another reward then
thus to divide their heads from
their bodies, whose hearts with
E them

them were divided from their
KING.

Nor is it strange that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successfull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sinne.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turne, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonwealth. The eldest Sonne must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sinne of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knowes, I was so far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were
such

such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so farre pittied him; as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men doe in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sownesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those meanes they use, with intents to reforme to their Models, what they call Religion, who think all is Gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Horham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most lyable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religi-

on to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pittie him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sinne, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I thinke clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to beleive they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noreable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage

carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereigne carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certaine that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret

pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sinne against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to returne on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it,

I doe not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive,

forgive, who beare most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath beene so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sin, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgement by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good

to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake ; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Iesus Christ to dye for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie him.

9. Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-Hall* : what Tumults could not doe, an Army must ; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end : My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But

I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their known weakness, as to Truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choyce for a King, that loves his
 E 5 People

People, and desires their love, either to kill His own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civill Warre in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventene yeares living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my selfe either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reigne have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousnesse?
what

what Widowes or Orphans tears can witnesse against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vaine is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have studied to see what Ground of Justice is alledged for this Warre against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soone end so unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) seemes rather the productions of a surfet of peace, and wantonnesse of minds, or of private discontent, Ambition & Faction (which easily find, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Mee, lest they should condemne themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-Hall*, to see if I could allay the insolvency of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can bee given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but onely to oppresse both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall,

all, (warned by My Lord of *Strafs-*
ford's death) while the vulgar
threatned to be their Oppressors,
and Judgers of their Judges, was
from that Instinct, which is in all
creatures to preserve themselves.
If any others refused to appeare,
where they evidently saw the cur-
rent of Justice and Freedome so
stopped and troubled by the
Rabble, that their lawfull Judges
either durst not come to the
Houses, or not declare their sense
with liberty and safety ; it cannot
seeme strange to any reasonable
man when the sole exposing them
to publick *odium* was enough to
ruine them , before their Cause
could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-
borne the Freedome and Honour
of the two Houses ; had they as-
serted their Justice against them,
and made the way open for all the
Members quietly to come and de-
clare their Consciences : I know

no

no man so deare to Mee, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himselfe, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I thinke) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence; the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges

ledges and Orders of the Houses ; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gaine the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, be-tooke themselves by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to lift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to bee of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peeres, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary, instigations obtruded againe, and by a few carried, when most
of

of the Peeres were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terroures, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, My conscience forbids Mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinkes, or pretends, they cannot doe God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops. Which

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strickt and indispenable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church: to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable

rable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peeres, was done with a firme perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Mee, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall ; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to bee dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour

Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it bee annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to bee in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequences as was worth speaking of a War, being only such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and
Justice

Justice of the defensive part, and load Mee with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knowes , I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults beene Honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated , that all the Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome , becoming such a Senate , have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing , and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired ; this being my necessity driving , the other my choise desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy , which I carryed with me , which would never fit their designs : and so while they invited me to come, and grievously
corn.

complained of my absence, yet they could not but bee pleased with it : especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents : when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Mee, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they
declared

declared by propositions , or Treaties, what they would have to appease them ; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of Mee , at any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and only to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, and accessary , after the War was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts , whom the noise and shew of piety , and heare for Reformation and Religion , might easily so fill with prejudice , that all equality and clearnesse of judgement

judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affaires between us, when they first raised an Army, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent : and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knowes) as far from mediating a Warre, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, or on My side, I doe not thinke My innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned ; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to adresse My Prayer to him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires ; Thou judgest without prejudice : Thy Omnisience eternally guides

guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodgally thirsty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture my own Life, which I have beene oft compelled to doe in this unhappy War, and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I neede not much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon mee; but much more to beare the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the war, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon mee so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miserable war; since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out halfe their dayes, in which they promised themselves the enjoymment of the fruits of their violence and wicked counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as
F hitherto

hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy selfe, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chiefe designs of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force My judgement, and to make Me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choyce and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denyi ng them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damne Mee.

Bee thou ever the defence of My Soule, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If

If nothing but My bloud will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy Temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the bloud of my Innocent and peace-maker Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still owne for thine; and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their seizing the
Kings Magazines, Forts,
Navy, and Militia.*

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyall hearts that durst onely pray for mee, at first, might witnesse, which yet appeare not so many on My side, as there were men in Armes listed against Mee; My unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would helpe Mee; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for Mee, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My selfe, or to preserve what is mine owne from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented

prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Mee; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Mee the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefeft Armes left Mee, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Mili-

tia, is so far best for mee, That it may drive mee from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my selfe into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

Hee that made the greedy Ravens to bee *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Milvia* so much in reference to My owne protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Mee, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their Riddle of Making Me

a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, so without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mabomet's* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seeke wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereigne Power in Subjects seldome

agreeing with the stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia*, sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure My Friends, and overcome Mine enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My selfe of a sole power to helpe, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no lesse then the Crowne) to bee disposed of as the two Houses shall thinke fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealousies in them, of Me, and to live above all jealousies of them, as to my selfe; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and My People; If I had the sole disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My selfe
so

so far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their owne evill merits and designs, will needs perswade the World, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath beene wrested from Mee, and imployed against Me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary

F 5 Rights,

Rights, in point of Power ; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice, due to My Successors , forbid Me to yeeld to such a totall alienation of that power from them which civility and duty (no lesse then justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse My owne beames , to satisie their feares , who thinke they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power , wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me : yet I will never consent to put out the Sunne of Sovereignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine,
which

which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subject to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to fore see; so they will finde it hath more mouthes, too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body,

body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seeme by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia* to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My selfe to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civill War and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yeelding; to which the greatest love of the publique peace, and the firmest assurance
of

of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens fears ; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successefull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety, then that of the Sword and *Militia* ; which yet are but weake defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake ; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I doe not thinke that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me ; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me , as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabe-
ans,

ans, or the Devill himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flye for help; if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose

pose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me : But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me ; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing , that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host ; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts , and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side ; yet be thou on my side , and I shall not feare what man can doe unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soule!

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who art thy subject; and justly maist thou, by my owne Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-steps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindeesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them:

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy
presence

presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

11. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded

ded upon Me, with the point of the Sword ; nor urged with the injuries of a Warre ; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making warre upon My soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour ; or any requitall for those favours I have or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience ; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have

have any Mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them ? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me ; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest hee
should

should seeme not to dare to deny any thing ; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands , or importunities.

But to binde my selfe to a generall and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects ; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as Hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to binde his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him ; which they chose rather

ther to doe, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addressees in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quiered with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent; else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can
it

it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are ; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Sovereign, and them my Subjects : whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion ; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be

be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my selfe, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crowne to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven yeeres hath shewed mee, how well they can Governe themselves, and so much power

power as is wrested from mee, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Iebues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it bee his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to bee my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Mee, I expected either some good Lawes, which had bin antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had beene desired to a restauration of their
vigour

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vigour and due execution ; or
 some evill customes preterlegally,
 and abuses personall had been to
 be removed : or some injuries
 done by My selfe, and others, to
 the Common-weale, were to be
 repaired : or some equable offer-
 tures were to be tendred to Mee;
 wherein the advantages of My
 Crown being considered by them,
 might fairly induce mee to con-
 ddescend, to what tended to My
 Subjects good, without any great
 diminution of my selfe, whom Na-
 ture, Law, Reason, and Religion,
 bind Me (in the first place) to
 preserve : without which, 'tis im-
 possible to preserve My People
 according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such
 moderate desires of due Refor-
 mation of what was (indeed) a-
 misse in Church and State, as
 might still preserve the foundati-
 on and essentials of Government
 both ; not shake and quite o-
 verthrow

verthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions we can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws disjointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; or

of any justice to be un-obstructed;
 of any compensations to be made;
 of any impartiall reformation to
 be granted; to all, or any of which,
 Reason, Religion, true Policy, or
 any other humane motives, might
 induce me.

But as to the maine matters
 propounded by them at any time,
 in which is either great novelty,
 or difficulty, I perceive that
 what were formerly look'd upon
 as Factions in the State, and
 Schismes in the Church, and so
 punishable by the Lawes, have
 now the confidence, by vulgar
 clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to
 demand not onely Toleration of
 themselves, in their vanity, novel-
 ty, and confusion; but also Abo-
 lition of the Lawes against them:
 and a totall extirpation of that
 Government, whose Rights they
 have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other
 propositions are (for the most
 part)

part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and
just

just moderation, as to know how to sever betweene the use and the abuse of things ; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all , upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soone renounce all regard to the Lawes in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State , under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer , either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is Gold', which is guilded with shewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to bee drawne into

the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backed and seconded, with Armes of Souldiers: Though the second should prevaile against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further then I see cause; for, I looke not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued
out

out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those men, who hunt after Faction and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My owne judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to thinke, there are wise men among them: and humility to thinke, that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet

I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My selfe; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to perserve as My selfe; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreasonableesse of some Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; which in My two last famous Predecessours dayes,

dayes, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments : But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome ; however it dispersed among the Vulgar : Nor was it likely so suddenly to tayne the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries ; some thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed

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themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give mee leave to swallow downe such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and unjustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with mee, then for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods helpe I am resolved, That nothing of passion; or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power shall have any byasse upon my judgement, to make mee gratifie my wil, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion,
per-

perswade mee, to bee for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my owne peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want, yet none can hinder mee from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

*O thou fast and eternall Reason,
whose wisdom is fortified with om-
nipotency, furnish thy Servant, first
with*

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*O thou fast and eternall Reason,
whose wisdom is fortified with om-
nipotency, furnish thy Servant, first
with*

with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Iustice, in My understanding : then so confirme My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terror, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever enforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a man ; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause ; which freedom is not denyed to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others ?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice they deny that freedome to Me their KING, which thou hast given to all Men ; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves ; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication,
 who canst guide me by an unerring
 rule, through the perplexed Laby-
 rinths of our own thoughts, and o-
 ther mens proposals; which I have
 some cause to suspect, are purposely
 cast as snares, that by My granting
 or denying them, I might be more
 entangled in those difficulties, where-
 with they lye in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before
 Me.

Let not My own sinfull passions
 cloud, or divert thy sacred suggesti-
 ons:

Let thy glory be my end, thy word
 my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to
 please some men; If I may be happy
 to please thee, I need not feare whom
 I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of
 the world foolishnesse, and takest in
 their own devices, such as are wise
 in their own conceits, make me wise
 by thy truth, for thy honour, my King-
 doms

doms generall good, and my owne souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or evermore, nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errors,

errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every euill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall ; Lord, make mee carefull of those solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing ; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience ; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

12. Upon the Rebellion ; and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent.

lent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed; Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred by me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men tooke it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did,

did, was done with my privity(at least) if not by my Commission : But these knew too well , that it is no newes for some of my Subjects to fight , not onely without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too ; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever faile of their Duty toward me, I must bear the blame ; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate

nate to me, nor comperent trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gail and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much, as some mens doth in their perturbations: who thinke they cannot do well but in evill times,

nor

nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted nor pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints,

stfaints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who thinke it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Teares, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose teares and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparkes of Civill
dis-

dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had beene lesse affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then my selfe ; I offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition ; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted ; or loth they were to shoot at any marke here lesse then my selfe ; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick dissentions, or diverted the Aides, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions

resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities, not only to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation ; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive feares, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillity for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I thinke) unevangelicall Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few, or
like

like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremes, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, lukewarmnesse; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not feldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours

cours of the poore Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here ; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chiefe of the Protestant party there to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped : God knows with how much commiseration and sollicitous caution I carried on that businesse , by persons of Honour and Integrity , that so I might neither encourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort , that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit , I was then to suffer againe in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the
Rebels

Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against Mee) as it might have beene for the Protestants future , as well as present safety ; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is false, and evill, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me , so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who

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doth

doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as hee did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do to looke to my owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a *King*; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarmes of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparkes do out of a fornace; Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their owne depth of wickednesse, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to beare the other.

I thanke God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hoped

shall

shall still doe better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appeare, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatsoever my Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my owne veins; no man being so much weakned by it, as my selfe; And I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Wars to sheath it selfe: his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure: the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again; which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion, as if wee could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because wee have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Error and bitterneesse, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what wee have suffered.

Let our Repentance bee our recovery, as our great sins have beene our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appeare to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgments;

ments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe affections.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our finnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drowne our sins, and through this red Sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As My publique relations to all, make Mee share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give Mee such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give

me grace to heape charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruell zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stocke of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath

wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it bee thy will, in the midst of the fowne of thy severe justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdome; calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against mee, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on mee and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to my owne
H 4 merit,

merit, but thy mercies ; spare us O Lord, and bee not angry with us for ever.

13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their comming.

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory ; but also special and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Mee to reflect on former passages ; wherein I shall

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ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Mee repent of what I granted them, for the publique good : I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conformance this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice : I leave to their Consci-

ences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnelle of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that forme which they cry up, as the only just reformation, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather success-
fully

fully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations ; That may kil one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformati- ons by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *scots* pattern before ever they could be heard,

heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgments & Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and
pious

pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the cheif Governours of States, where

where they lived is very clear in the Gospel ; but that he , or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others ; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood ; whose effusion runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters , both of Christianity & Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood , not violent drawing other mens ; sure there is too much of Man in it , to have much of Christ , none of whose institutions were carried on , or begun with the temptations of covetousnesse & Ambition ; of both w^{ch} this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing
upon

upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength, and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppress, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men thinke, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way,
both

both as to the Ancient, & still most Universall way of the Church-government, and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of the *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carry in their Snapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens Soules
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Nor may any men, I thinke, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper Engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have
such

such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gaine, to recompence their losses and hazzards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings, and designs before God, never think they have humane strength

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strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People ; what cannot bee justified in Law or Religion , had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance ; others of them soone after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out : what one Party thought to rivet to a settlednesse by the strength and influence of the *Scots* , that the other rejects and contemns ; at once, despising the *Kirk* Government and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargable, more then charitable assistance : For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed government and
disci-

discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod ; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the flimsies and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs ; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of Scotland never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality
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of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despaire of their returne ; when besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages : However the lesse cause I have to trust to men , the more shall apply My self to God.

The Troubles of My Soule are increased; O Lord, bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord, direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though

Though hand joyne in hand, yet
let them not prevaile against My
soule, to the betraying of My Consci-
ence, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turne the
hearts of these Parties in both Na-
tions, as thou didst the men of Ju-
dah and Israel, to restore David
with as much loyall Zeale, as they
did with inconstancy and eagernesse
pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth
and uprightness in Me, and I shall
not despaire of My Subjects affections
returning towards Me.

Thou canst soone cause the over-
flowing Seas to ebbe, and retire
back againe to the bounds which
thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee, let me
not be ashamed; let not My enemies
triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who trans-
gresse without a cause; let them be
turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness pre-
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*serve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.
Redeeme thy Church, O God, out
of all its Troubles.*

14. Upon the Covenant.

THe Presbyterian Scots are not to bee hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries ; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacy ; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solenne a charme and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island,
and

and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it ; Presbytery, like a young Heyre, thinkes the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to bee in the Bishops Chaire and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My selfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Charch; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants,

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ere it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for against those things, which of no cleare morall necessity ; very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men : whereto the application of this can hardly be made and joyne'd with that judgement, and certainty in ones selfe, or that purity and candour to others of different opinion, as I thinke Reason requires, which never receives faire and equable deliberations ; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon people must needs in things subtilfull bee dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable ; and lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bind men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Injoining Oath and Covenant, with

I

that

that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintaine the Religion established in the Church of *England* : since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never thinke they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity : for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they thiak to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods, or mans Laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either

to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes ; since I have the charity to thinke , that the chiefe end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdomes in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot thinke themselves engaged ; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience, endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much lesse such as are, and will bee daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant : unlesse they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and sworne

duties, which are indispenfable, both to God and My felfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who tooke the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That fuch later Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thofe former gravings, and characters, which by juft and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Soules.

That which makes fuch Confe-
derations by way of folemne
Leagues and Covenants more to
be fufpected, is, That they are the
common road, ufed in all factious
and powerfull perturbations of
State or Church: where formalities
of extraordinary zeale and
piety are never more ftudied and
elaborate, then, when Politicians
moft agitate desperate delignes
againft all that is fetled, or f acred
in Religion, and Lawes, which by
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and lesse sensible degrees, from their knowne rule and wonted practise, to comply with the humour of those men, who ayme to subdue all to their owne will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soone growes his own Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those ties, which, not commands of Gods Word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall wayes seldom, or never, intend the en-

gaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as they crosse not the Chiefe Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; so little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Mee, and the Church

Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty : who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God* : for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall ; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory,

most in the Name of *Covenanters*, would keepe themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enioyne it, it shall actually bee carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keepe it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My Selfe, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot thinke it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them
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to so sudden acting and compli-
 ance, contrary to their former
 judgements, profession, and
 practise) such foule scandals and
 suspiciens should be cast upon the
 Doctrine and Government of the
 Church of *England*, as was never
 done (that I have heard) by any
 that deserved the Name of *Re-
 formed Churches* abroad, nor by
 any men of learning and candour
 at home: all whose judgements I
 cannot but prefer before any mens
 now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward
 then My selfe to carry on all due
 Reformation, with mature judge-
 ment, and a good Conscience, in
 what things I shall (after impar-
 tiall advice) be, by Gods Word,
 and right reason, convinced to be
 amisse. I have offered more then
 ever the fullest, freest, and wisest
 Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens
 actions makes it evident, that the

maine Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have beene more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deere, must be destroyed; the other Rasca'-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steere their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thanke God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally
can

can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Consent.) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Churchmen so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: so unjust I thinke it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hardhearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Taske; so pursuing

suving the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteemes it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge, and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouthes.

The next worke will bee *Ieroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough knowne: And so it will bee here, when from the tuition of Kings
and

and Queenes, which have beene nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paucity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I thinke it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power, it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are wayes enough to re-paire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church;

as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts : The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse ; I pray God neither I nor Mine may be necessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensible bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences ; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keepe thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coale from thine altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will hardly be quenched. Let

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illeberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousness, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which
some

some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to doe wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth ; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed , the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs : For, I can more willingly loose My Crowne, then My Credit ; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life ; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when

when I am dead and gone : A good name being the embalming of Princes, & a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me : that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soone misled into the most desperate precipices of actions : wherein they do not only, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures ; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious
to

to merit the name of My Destroyers ; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger ; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret that most part of My subjects fought against my supposed Errors, not My Person ; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me : And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My people more good, then
hitherto

hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscous to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me ; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me ; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly maybe Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My selfe; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My selfe, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests
of

of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them ; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happinesse ; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life , and dye many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Sovereignty ; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies ; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes , I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague ; or the Itch of Novelty , and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As

As Lyars need have good Memories. so Malicious persons need inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and my charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and scared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those
black

black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility. (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, & My Cause, as if it had been impossible to ad-

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here to Me^l, and not withall part from God ; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lye for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that
will

will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnessse of the means used, nor the depth of the mischiefe, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize **Me** and **Mine**; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down **Mine** as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor doe I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and so-

lid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to those well tryed foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calme, and unpassionate times. have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those

those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevaile.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they owne as men, and Christians to God; the second, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING; different profession in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglia* or medley of various Religions in the world againe, as those men entertaine in their service (who find most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their dutie to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have beene then disputing the points of different beliefes in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points : and when I needed the helpe of My Subjects

as

as men, no lesse then their pray-
ers as Christians.

The noise of My Evil Coun-
sellours was another usefull device
for those, who were impatient
any mens counsels but their own,
should be followed in Church
and State; who were so eager in
giving Me better counsell that
they would not give me leave to
take it with freedome, as a Man;
or honour, as a King; making
their counsels more like a drench
that must be powred downe,
then a draught which might
be fairly and leisurely dranke, if I
liked it.

I will not justifie beyond hu-
mane errours and frailties My
Self, or My Counsellours: They
might be subject to some miscar-
riages, yet such as were far more
reparable by second and better
thoughts, than those enormous
extravagances, wherewith some
men have now even weldred,

and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or My selfe any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My selfe,

selfe, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My. either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretend persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designes, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to

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desire.

desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will according to Reason, Lawes, and Religion: I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to helpe on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of Church and State Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection;

on ; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law , who despiseth its rule and direction ; losing justly his safety while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against , or beyond the Lawes.

They will feele it at last to their cost , that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints ; against all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat the mirth , and triumph, but such musick.

In

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humility and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Shisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the only King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restrants upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to breake the Law established, further then with meekenesse and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publike Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfy their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well

as

as their owne merits) were the
 secret (but principall) impulsives
 to these popular Commotions, by
 which Subjects have beene per-
 swaded to expend much of those
 plentiful estates they got, and
 enjoyed under My Government
 in peaceable times; which yet
 must now be blasted with all the
 odious reproaches which impo-
 tent malice can invent; and My
 selfe exposed to all those con-
 tempts, which may most diminish
 the Majesty of a King, and en-
 crease the ungratefull insolencies
 of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well
 assured, that as mine innocencie is
 cleare before God, in point of any
 calumnies they object, so My re-
 putation shall like the Sun (after
 Owles and Bats have had their
 freedome in the night and darker
 times) rise and recover it self to
 such a degree of splendour, as
 those feriall birds shall be grieved
 to

to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tryed in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knowes but the just and mercifull God will doe Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speake rather what they wish, then what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) then those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels

Angels, *ſpeake evill of dignities, and bring rayling accusations againſt thoſe, who are honoured with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemne ſuch ſhadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without ſinne ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the eradiations of true glory and majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach,

proach, and my dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworne together.

O My God, how long shall the sonnes of men turn My glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seeke after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace lest My Enemies prevaile against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shall destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorre both the bloud-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnessse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being cursed by them, I may blasse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimci's tongue to goe unpunished; when by thy judgements on David he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coales of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill-speaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach

Teach me Davids patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, doe thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Looke down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keepe me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance a-
gainst the Common-Prayer-
Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Inno-
vations ushered in with the
name of Reformation in Church
and State, by those, who seeking
to gaine reputation with the Vul-
gar for their extraordinary parts,
and piety, must needs undoe what
ever was formerly settled never so
well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those
that study Novelties, allow former
times any share or degree of wis-
dome or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer &
devotion to God justly bears a great
part in Religion, (being the Souls
more immediate converse with
the Divine Majesty) nothing could
be more plausible to the People
then to tell them, They served
God amisse in that point,

Hence

Hence our publique Liturgy, or forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free & publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I shall easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloryed in their extemporary veyne and fluency: or others, who conscious to their owne formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sinne of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, sober and learned men have

have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Lyturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates

bates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason why any Christian should abhor or be forbidden to use the same Formes of Prayer, since he prayes to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure wee may as well beforehand know what wee pray, as to whom wee pray; and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders wee may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I heare, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their owne invention, and
gifts,

gifts, that they not only difuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique Prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more

a God of variety, then of constancy : Nor are constant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and devotion, then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Poples affections to the present occasion; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Booke were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Formes of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common

common wants, informe the Hearers understanding, and stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soule of Prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of Prayer) then any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say,

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in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Formes of Publick compose; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becoming those duties; which by this meanes are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both

both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick compofure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feele, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more the pitty.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those innovations, (that men may not seeme to have nothing to doe) which Law, Reason, and Religion

forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the publick Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service Booke; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Lyturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed helpe for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemaine which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use
such

such severity as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-Prayer Book publicly, although their Consciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conforme to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplaines, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it

would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Lawes, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own forms,

forms, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency of

our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy:
Suffer

Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with indecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty: Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeale, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the KING and the two houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keyes of the

he peoples hearts, as they pre-
vaile much by their Oratory to
let in, or shut out, both Peace
and Loyalty.

So that being (as K I N G) in-
trusted by God, and the Lawes,
with the good both of Church
and State ; I see no Reason I
should give up, or weaken by any
change, that power and influence
which in right and reason I ought
to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the
House of Peers (of which I have
elsewhere given an account) was
sufficient to take off any suspicion,
that I encline to them for any
use to be made of their Votes in
State affaires : Though indeed I
never thought any Bishop worthy
to sit in that House, who would
not Vote according to his Con-
science.

I must now in Charity be
thought desirous to preserve that
Government in its right constitu-
tion,

tion, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully fatisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuari- nesse of People; or the factious- nesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Govern- ment, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, ha- ving none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Govern- ment of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to be- lieve their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing
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unbiaſed men; that as the Primi-
 tive Churches were undoubtedly
 governed by the Apoſtles and
 their immediate Succeſſours the
 firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot
 in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed,
 that all Churches in the world
 ſhould either be ignorant of the
 rule by them preſcribed, or ſo
 ſoon deviate from their divine
 and holy patterne : That ſince
 the firſt Age, for fifteene hundred
 yeares not one Example can be
 produced of any ſetled Church,
 wherein were many Miniſters
 and Congregations, which had
 not ſome Biſhop above them, un-
 der whoſe jurisdiction and go-
 vernment they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall
 practice agreeing with ſo large,
 and evident Scripture-directions
 and examples as are ſet down in
 the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*,
 for the ſetting of that Govern-
 ment, not in the perſons onely of
Timothy

Timothy and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of welbeing, than the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution : which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline ; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles ; who in the latitude

trude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be call'd *Bishops* ; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which hath extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ : they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use, (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those

those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, & above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these
peri-

perilous times, and those men that make them such ; who not enduring sound doctrine, and cleare testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy : who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high minded ; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the forme, little of the power of godlineffe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be pub-

publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Ecclesiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me : who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdomes, have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quartell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universall practice the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any
more

more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more beleieve, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed severall orders, and a Prelacie, in the government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoyd those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; Also to avoyd Tiranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Churchmen; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shouldiers, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall ; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function ; but also the difference of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it : It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chiefe Patrons for other waies can say against this, or for theirs : And I finde they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and
of

of Reason ; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories ; they are wholly destitute wherein the whole streame runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivolet of any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity ; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those few ; rather then to the Catholike example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be ; All whom the
Chur-

Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) If not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government ; whom, though you may convince of their Errors in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never persuade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall : So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Arians) have strayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church in that point ; ever
having

having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My judgement; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did confirm contrary to their consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My consent, have not onely quite cryed down the government by Bishops; but have approved and in-

incouraged the violent, and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army comming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enimies to, and betrayers of their owne interest: for Presbitery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of

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the People , and of Princes , as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberrall dewes of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see , what a poore carcasse they are , when parted from the influence of that Head , to whose Supremacy they have been sworne

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs ; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated ; (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws , or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons ; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-government; also enablements to works of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able

to use them : if at any time My judgement of men failed , My good intention made My errour veniall : And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny : But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restraints them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equal ; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy ; wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth,

And

And now I appeale to God above, & all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seeke to force Me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weake and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more then I doe, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other waies, who either content themselves with the example of some Churches in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the

Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands,

Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath
 set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other
 men esteem) to Me is no lesse
 sin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery
 of GOD (the giver of all we have)
 of that portion which devout
 minds have thankfully given a-
 gain to him, in giving it to his
 Church and Prophets; through
 whose hands he graciously ac-
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 a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to My parti-
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Were I convinced of the un-
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Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no little sin, then Sacrilege; or a robbery of GOD (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath, agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgement, breake that Oath, which erroneously

neously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; how can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacrilege and Perjury? besides the many personal Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneffe of Conscience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary

trary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender of their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs persuade Me that I must, and ought to dispenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintaine the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My Oath should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens

ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty ; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions ; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor ; as many waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms. For it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here ; nor I
(in

(in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this ; for, what I think in My judgement best , I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yeilding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it ; but that is no argument to doe so again, or much worse ; I being now more convinced in that point : nor indeed hath My yeilding to them been so happy and successefull as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion ; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary

trary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wares of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning, or Religion, workes of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at
once

once satisfie all just desires and inter-
ests of good Bishops, humble
Presbyters, and sober People; so
as Church affairs should be mana-
ged neither with tyranny, parity,
nor popularity; neither Bishops
ejected, nor Presbyters despised,
nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of
My Judgement and Conscience, I
hope God will preserve Me.

*For Thou, O Lord knowest my
uprightnesse, and tendernesse; as
thou hast set me to be a Defender of
the Faith, and a Protector of thy
Church, so suffer me not, by any
violence, to be overborne against my
Conscience.*

*Arise, O Lord, maintain thine
owne Cause; let not thy Church be
deformed, as to that Government,
which, derived from thy Apostles,
hath been retained in purest and pri-
mitive times, till the Revenues of
the Church became the object of se-
cular*

cular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boare, and subtile Foxes, to waste and deform thy
thy

thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reforme with meeknesse, then expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schismes, and disorders.

*O thou God of order, and of truth,
in thy good time abate the malice,
abstage the rage, and confound all the
mischievous devices of thine, mine,
and thy Churches enemies.*

*That I, and all that love thy Church,
may sing praises to thee, and ever
magnifie thy salvation, even before
the sons of men.*

18. *Upon Uxbridge-Treaty,
and other Offers made by
the KING.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retyring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater
con-

confidence of My Reason , then My Sword : I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first , that I thought neither My selfe , nor others , should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever thinke it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat : It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, then Force ; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My selfe with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable ; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischiefes of the meanes.

Nor did any successe I had ever
enhance

enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as any man ; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man : All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience ; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy compoture ; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me leave ; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happiness ; or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity ; for they better enjoyed both, many yeares, before ever those demands were made ; some
of

of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed as they are raised : Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage : what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Mee ; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given faire satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, then any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seeme to advance true piety.

piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set downe My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government , raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practise of the Universall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered , onely to satistie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves In any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Mee , as will rather part with Gods Truth , then Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour , than crosse some mens Factionous humours. God

God knowes, and time will discover; who were most too blame for the un-succesfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must beare the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my people, then the preservation of my owne Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condescendings, as Arguments of feeblenesse, and glory most in an unflexible stiffnessse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to aske something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate as the worst

worst effects of War ; endeavouring first to make Mee destroy My selfe by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the lesse to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restivenesse, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine : I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our owne reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That

That which made Mee for the most part presage the unsuccessfullnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnes to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableesse they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last, it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them

them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to war.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved,

deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace maker can merit.

19. Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.

THe various Successes of this unhappy War, have at least; afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Mee with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to owne, and use his power, who is onely the true Lord of Hostes; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples

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love

love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arme of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the iustice of My Cause: and those that were with Me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement, both of them, and Me. Nor were My Enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that iniustice by open hostility, which was began by most ritious and unparrliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oftentimes over-balance the Iustice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteeme) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their

their owne skill , valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily worke by them for his owne glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Iustice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Those with Me had (I thinke) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their owne Oathes; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or against Me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are sorted to flie to the shifts of some pretended Feares, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such

imaginary Reasons for selfe defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Mee and the Lawes: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces. The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them; some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Mee, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth,

Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was due to them in this world ; who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation , were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My selfe , which lay upon their Soules , both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in to just a Cause ; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health, and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did , through Gods grace , effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their

present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely values his duty, his soule, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present

present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, where-with their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences doe pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seene, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Lawes established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sence of their Loyalty;

and be as faithfull to God and their owne soules, as they were to Me ; That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot thinke , that any shewes , or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences , that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who like *Abolom* , died many of them in their sin : And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer , but only restore the Lawes and Liberties

berties of my people; which I saw were externally oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to worke together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over My selfe. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us, That

by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and by deferring Peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to feare a War, but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this; That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more,

more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I with only a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings. The unavoidable fate of our sinnes was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: wee having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it selfe is not desirable, till Repentance ha e prepared us for it.

When wee fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall ceate fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose

pose us to an happy conclusion of these Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me contented to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my selfe, and My Enemies by patience; which was Christs Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou misbest arrest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be

Be thou all, when wee are something and when we are nothing that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for mee to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in these evils which they compell mee to inflict upon them; punishing myselfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed, that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chiefe Instrument to restore and establish a firme and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stir up in all Parties ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation,

moderation; and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of war; so for the finnes of War: thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give Me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the blood of My Subjects; which with infinite unwillingnesse and grieve hath bene shed by Me in My iust and necessary defence, but wash Me with that precious blood which hath bene shed for Me by My great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeme Me shortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment. 20. Upon

22. *Upon the Reformation of
the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due Re-
forming either Church or State,
when deformities are such, that
the perturbation and novelty are
not like to exceed the benefit of
Reforming.

Although God should not ho-
nour Me so far, as to make Me an
Instrument of so good a worke,
yet I should be glad to see it
done.

As I was well pleased with this
Parliaments first intentions to re-
form what the Indulgence of
Times, and corruption of man-
ners might have depraved: so I
am sorry to see after the freedom
of Parliament was by factious
Tumults oppressed, how little re-
gard was had to the good Lawes
established, and the Religion set-
led;

led; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what novelties of Schismes and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me have followed (as shoures doe warme gleames) the talke of Reformation, all sober men are witnesses, and (with My selfe) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I thinke is, that popular clamours and fury hath

hath been allowed the reputation of Zeale and the Publique sense, so that the study to please some parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Counsels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy
of

of *England*, nor with freedom and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the *Lyturgie* and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolical institution, at least, as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and feare, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest

rest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churches, the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the Constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason; Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbytery what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacy

pacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels, and such (I believe) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs; which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular Titles of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows,

dowes, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crolles, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publique service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*, nor what adventure he may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices; The setting forth also of old Catechismes and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church before some four or five yeers consultation

tion had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion :

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformation (that they might not seem to have nothing to doe) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long.) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation : since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

It with they would at last make it their Unanimous worke to doe Gods worke, and not their owne. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretensions to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the

the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their hearts which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure, the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State; nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for next to *Fear God, is, Honour the King.*

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine, nor will any men in impartiall times appeare good Christians that approve not themselves good Subjects. **Christ**

Christs Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what is meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions both against Me and one another.

As good ends cannot justify evill means, so, nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions, unlesse GOD, by a miracle of Mercy create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie, suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

O

Our

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censures, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in cleannesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be means to reforme what is indeed a misse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts; O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pitty the deformities which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgments. so bring us at last more refined out of these fires by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformation; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge,

revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great, good, and most necessary a work: that I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with Honour and Civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and

Noblenesse being discovered in greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarons; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses of popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses. I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover
how

how they are divided between the love and care I have not more to preserve My own Rights, then to procure their peace and happiness, and that extreame griefe to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That I endeavour to avoyd the pressures of My Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame who loves Me or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens deligne like *Absoloms*, is by erroneous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides

to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injurie My expressions can doe them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so wronged, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy compofure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My own, then My Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires,

Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been very loth should be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellors.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as my owne Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other then good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became
 O 4 their

their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gaines the greatest esteeme and applause; at adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seeme sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They thinke no Victories so effectull to their designs as those that most hurt and waste My Credit with My people; in whose hearts they seek by all meanes to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the
Laws,

Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seeke to overthrow. The taking away of My Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdomes. First, I must seeme neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reigne; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of My Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartiall Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turne even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more then so many Papers. How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and most becomes

such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their King, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and still tender-*n*esse which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justify *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs bee on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependence

pendence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People ; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelineffe ; which, I thank God, they did not ; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as hee did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest conjungences of humane affaires ; make mee to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest
ad.

advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsell of Achitophel, turning it to Davids good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, whow intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render mee more odious and contemptible to my people.

I must first appeale to thy Omnisience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to retorne on their owne heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the

the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give mee an heart content to
bee dishonoured for thy sake, and thy
Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee,
and then I know thou wilt honour
me, either by restoring to Me the en-
joyment of that Power and Majesty
which thou hast suffered some men
to seek to deprive me of; or by bestow-
ing on me that crowne of Christian
patience, which knowes how to serve
thee in honour, or dishonour, in good
reput or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of
goodnesse and honour; thou art cloth-
ed with excellent Majesty; make mee
to partake of thy excellency for wis-
dome, justice, and mercy, and I shall
not want that degree of Honour, and
Majesty which becomes the Place in
which thou hast set Me; who art the
lifter up of my head, and my sal-
vation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy
glory, wh ch is both true and eterna'l.

22. *Upon His Majesties
leaving Oxford, and going
to the Scots.*

Although God hath given
Me three Kingdomes, yet in
these He hath not now left Me any
place, where I may with Safety
and Honour rest my Head : Shew-
ing me that himselfe is the safest
Refuge, and the strongest Tower
of defence, in which I may put
my Trust.

In these extremities I look not
to man so much as to God ; Hee
will have it thus ; that I may
wholly cast my selfe, and my now
distressed affaires upon his mercy,
who hath both hearts and hands
of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to
Force, it may grant to Prudence :
Necessity is now my Counsellour,
and commands mee to study my
safety by a disguised withdrawing
from

from my chiefest strength, and
adventuring upon their Loyalty
who first began my Troubles. Hap-
ly God may make them a meanes
honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them,
may disarm and overcome
them: My rendring my Person
to Them may engage their affecti-
ons to me, who have oft profes-
sed, *They fought not against Me, but
for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle
of their Loyalty: and give them
opportunity to let the world see,
they meane not what they do, but
what they say.

Yet must God bee my chiefest
Guard; and my Conscience both
my Counsellour and my Comforter:
Though I put my Body into
their hands, yet I shall reserve my
Soule to God, and my selfe; nor
shall any necessities compell me to
desert mine Honour, or swerve
from my Judgement.

Wha.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unustall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such as they ought and professe to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my selfe ; but to put mee upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to mee, and apply to those that have Opposed me ; this method of Peace may be more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made : and in it I am no lesse solicitous

citous for My Friends safety, then Mine own; chusing to venture My selfe upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost, better fairly to give over, then to contest in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seeme to offer up My Soules liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Armes, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thanke God no successe darkens or disguises Truth to mee; and I shall no lesse conforme My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had bin as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my selfe weakened while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never thinke my self lesse then my self while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day

day of Battails, so thou canst still
shew me thy strength in my weaknes.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt
night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and
direct me ; in the day of my hottest
affliction, be also a pillar of clond to
overshadow and protect me ; be to
me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any
perversnesse of will, but just persua-
sions of Honour, Reason, and Religion,
which have made me thus farre to
hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety,
against Those that by force have
sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to a-
bate with my outward Forces ; let a
good Conscience alwayes a company
Me in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the power
of Reason, and that fortresse of my
Soule, which I am intrusted to keep
for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righte-
ousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee; and
then

*then thou wilt make mine Enemies
to be at peace with me.*

23. Upon the Scots delivering
the KING to the English;
& his Captivity at Holme-
by.

YET may I iustifie those Scots
to all the world in this, that
they have not deceived me; for I
never trusted to them further
then to men; if I am sold by them,
I am onely sorry they should doe
it; and that My price should be
so much above My Saviours.

These are but further Essayes
which God will have me make of
mans uncertainty, the more to fix
me on himself who never faileth
them that trust in him; Though
the Reeds of Ægypt breake under
the hand of him that leans on
them: yet the Rock of Israel will
be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity and inconstancy.

God see 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soul is still My owne nor shall they

they ever gain My consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evill Counsellours with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire. I should be such as they wish Me; not more a King, and far lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men shall never be my snare; nor shall the love of a-
ny

ny liberty entangle my soule. Better others betray me, then my self: and that the price of my Liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self & Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise Me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honour of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then any Warre can doe, while I gratifie a few to oppress all. The

The Laws will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of My Subjects, if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thralldom.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray

pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose Solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better then life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man: with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou suff'rest Me to bee stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy my selfe; and which cannot be taken from Me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to any impatience, or sordid feares.

P

There

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me : doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon mee, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from Men defeated, my Person restrained : O be not thou farre from me, lest my Enemies prevaile too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many : O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me : establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee : yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou ledest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either

better enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny mee the Ghostly comfort
of

of My haplaines, seems a greater rigour and barbarity then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine; and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soule.

Other sense Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the

attendance of some of My Chaplaines.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my owne Divines before their Ministers:whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them ; yet I cannot thinke them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians ; Who have(some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotionall compli-
ance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices to be performed with Me, and for Me ; since their judgements standing at a distance from me , or in jealousie of me , or in opposition against me, their Spi-
rits

rits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy dutie, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some Comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his owne Innocency, to despaire of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies. I am so much a friend to all Churchmen, that have any thing in them becomming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked

upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers ; so I thought it My duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhand somely requited by some of them ; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, then their owne ungratefull errors, and that injurious contempt and meannesse which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none : onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgment, and most suitable to My affection For, I held it better to seeme undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to bee forced, or seeme to comply with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent ; nor the tongue say
amen,

Amen, without contradicting a mans owne understanding, or be-lying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity as shewes the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches Honour, and his owne Vilenesse; both knowing what things God allowes him to ~~use~~, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himselfe, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christi-

ans daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyne My heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seeme to all equall minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwayes edu-

educated and exercised ; In the other , I am not yet Carechized, nor acquainted : And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certaine rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composition and use ; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them , as the Common-Prayer sometimes was by those men ; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of rayling against , and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vae soli*, then to that of *Vae vobis*, Hypocrite, by seeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of My selfe to discharge My duty to GOD as a Priest , though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed,

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdorall, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, then one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods
wis-

wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, then those, which are encombred with
secular

secular affaires : besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God; every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I thinke, more pious Principles : the consciounesse to
my

my spirituall defects makes me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy and offence to deny me, then this of having some meanes afforded Me for my Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but only this, That they may seem too able and too well affected toward Me and My service.

But

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My selfe ; though I must confesse I beare with more griefe and impatience the want of My Chaplaines, then of any other My Servants ; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instru-
cter.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now solitary prayers ; what I want of others help , supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit , which alone can both enlighten My darknesse, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Son of righteousness, thou sacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat , at once cleare and warme my heart , both by instructing of me, and interceding for me : In thee is all fulnesse : From thee all-sufficiency : By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough : Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self ; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O looke on me thy Seruant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse as a sparrows on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of Prayers, and Incense of praises, might be duely offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smouldering

EIKON BASILIKH. 31

king flax, do not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonablenesse of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse incline thine eare to me, who art a God easie to be entreated; thine care is not heavy, that it cannot; nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me, thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

EIKON BASILIKH.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou O Lord, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyle in the cruise faile the widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now faile my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt,
now

now be wanting to my heart in this
famine of ordinary and wholesome
food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then
to feed from those hands who mingle
my bread with ashes, and my wine
with gall; rather tormenting then
teaching me; whose mouths are
prone to bitter reproaches of me, then
to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth,
how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures
to My destruction, (which are clear
for their subjection, and my preser-
vation) O let it not be to their dam-
nation.

Thou knowest how some men un-
der colour of long prayers have
sought to devour the houses of their
Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let not those mens balmes break
my head, nor their Cordials oppresse
my heart; I will evermore pray against
their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their
tongues, from the snares of their lips,
from

from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at Holmeby.

GIve ear to my words O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; neverthelesse thou bearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou shouldst be extreame to mark what is done amisse, who can abide

abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners flye unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of My Place adding weight to My offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sinnes; which are so farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained my Person yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come farre short of Davids piety; yet since I may equall Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of
my

my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the dross, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted. Though

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace ; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretcht out still ; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house ; as for these sheep, what have they done ?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee ; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

Q

If

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me,
and My Kingdomes; in continuing
the light of thy Gospell, and setting
Thy true Religion among Us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the
Laws, and the due execution of
Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes
in Church, and factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine
to the Ancient rights and glory of
my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my
People to thyself in Piety, to me in
Loyalty, & to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames,
and withdraw the fewell of these
Civill warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the free-
dome of publick Counsels, and deli-
ver the Honour of Parliaments from
the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great
offence of enacting any thing against
my Conscience; and especially from
consenting to sacrilegious rapines,
— and

and Spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State,

Then shall my soule praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes ; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chiefest care. Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restoration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the

benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any partioular injury done to me.

We have beene mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all feares, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

26. Upon the Armies Surprisall of the KING at Holemeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practice will serve that man, who onely seekes to represent a part of honesty & honour.

This surprize of Me, tels the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vaine to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, w^{ch} lately one womb inclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they goe farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion;

fusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealors, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions,

before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents thinke themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine justice ; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies , must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin , but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former ; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults , are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the Riddle of some mens justice ? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to doe) from the rudenesse of the Tumults , were counted Defertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults,

were asserted for the only Parliament-men : now the Fliers from, and forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentarily power along with them ; complaine highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law ; where men look more to present advantages then their Consciences ; and the unchangeable Rules of Justice ; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemne themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies ; when as before, they were counted as friends and necessary assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken ken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me, which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly pasted over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometimes over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindnesse frequently attending and punishing willfull; so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie

fanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelfe, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtroakes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles and intereſts, demanding pay and indemnity) I think it neceſſary in order to the Publique Peace, that they ſhould be ſatiſfied, as far as

is

is just ; no man being more prone to consider them then My selfe : though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour & gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My self, My Lawes, and My Kingdomes in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Iustice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the stirrings of My People, and make Me to see how much they need My prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against Me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the ways of peace, from which they have separated :

ved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fervell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to do those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me
in

in my saddest condition, give them
grace to bestow upon themselves,
who the lesse they weep for Me, the
more cause they have to weep for
themselves.

O let not my bloud be upon them
and their children, whom the fraud
and sation of some, not the malice
of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt
(as thou didst my Redeemer) both
exalt and perfect me by my suffer-
ings, which have more in them of
thy mercy, than of mans cruelty or
thy owne justice.





Natus May 29 An^o 1630
Ætatis suæ 19
P

27. *To the Prince of Wales.*

Sonne, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may be so farre usefull to You, as to state Your judgement aright in what hath passed: whereof a pious is the best use can be made, and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving, and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I finde My leisure and solitude have produced something

thing worthy of My selfe, and usefull to You; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successesse; nor My Judgement of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some Others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of Mine owne.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes; that You have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace
and

and plenty ; which are prone, either to roote up all plants of Virtue and Honour ; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good ; for which Princes should alwayes remember, they are borne, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam* : The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome ; the other softned by the unparalleled prosperity of *Solomon's* Court ; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer ; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You should bee *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good then great; I hope God hath designed You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdomes of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attaine to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in
the

the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power with Justice and Honour to the publike Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawne me nearer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded and settled in your Religion. The best profession of which

which, I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which you have beene educated ; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seale to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as comming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have other-where expresse, and often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for Your souls then Your Kingdomes Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turne himselfe into an Angel of Reformation ; and the old
Ser-

Serpent can pretend new Lights :
 When some mens Consciences
 accuse them for Sedition and Fa-
 ction , they stop its mouth with
 the name and noise of Religion ;
 when Piety pleads for peace and
 patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that , unlesse in this point
 You bee well settled , You shall
 never want temptations to destroy
 You and Yours, under pretensions
 of Reforming matters of Religi-
 on ; for that seemes, even to worst
 men, as the best and most auspici-
 ous beginning of their worst de-
 signes.

Where , besides the Novelty
 which is taking enough with the
 Vulgar, every one hath an affecta-
 tion , by seeming forward to an
 outward Reformation of Religi-
 on, to be thought Zealous; hoping
 to cover those irreligious defor-
 mities , whereto they are consci-
 ous, by a severity of censuring o-
 ther mens opinions or actions.

R

Take

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your Judgement, and the Church well settled; Your partiall a theering, as Head, to any one Side, gaines You not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to feare or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity,

nity, then from those, who engage into religious Rebellion ; Their interest is alwayes made Gods ; under the colours of Piety , ambitious policies march ; not only with greatest security , but applause, as to the populacy ; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voyce , but you shall feele they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable then the Pre-byterain Faction in England , for many years ; so compliant they were to publique order : nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first

were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master : till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it selfe, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seeme little or despicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errours & Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand-bredth, but by seditious Spirits as by strong winds are soone made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice
to

to God, your owne soule and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next maine hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the settled Lawes of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with

R 3

such

such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

But Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worse then legall Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My sufferings, as-to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My owne Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Lawes established before those alterations they propounded.

And

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments then what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath bin pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retaine in My soule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot

consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope hee will; My counsell and charge to You, is, That you seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoyd them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affaires of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your selfe, or others, a diffidence of Your owne judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crowne and Kingdome then any mans.

Next

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the ſkirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent oppoſition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the

essential: of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keepe up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heede that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragement of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with
different

different and opposite Factions ;
 (for so I must needs call and count
 all those, that act not in any con-
 formity to the Lawes established,
 in Church and State) no sooner
 have they by force subdued what
 they counted their Common E-
 nemy, (that is, all those that ad-
 hered to the Lawes , and to Me)
 and are secured from that feare,
 but they are divided to so high a
 rivalry, as sets them more at defi-
 ance against each other, then
 against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions,
 when once the rough hornes of
 private mens covetous and ambi-
 tious designs, shall discover them-
 selves ; which were at first wrapt
 up and hidden under the soft and
 smooth pretensions of Religion,
 Reformation, and Liberty : As the
 Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will
 be more justly hated, when hee
 shall appeare no better then a
 Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But

But as for the seduced Trainee of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is, That as you need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither feare any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and maske of goodnesse) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subject. novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountaines of congealed factions shall by the Sunshine of Gods mercy, and the splendour of Your virtues be thawed

thawed and dissipated ; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned That none are greater Oppressors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men that entitle themselves The Patrons and Vindicators of them , onely to usurpe power over them ; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those whose owne sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of Factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts. and clemency to heal the wounds ; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion , to so great a latitude, as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws ; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted ; let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choyce.

It is all I have now left Me , a power to forgive those that have deprived Me of all ; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments ; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides , who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information , or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You , then those Subjects , who sensible of their Errours , and our Injuries , will feel in their own Souls most
vehe-

vehement motives to repentance and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; so the noblenesse of Your minde must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will study to deserve; yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I doe require and intreat You as Your Father, and Your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from
the

the true Religion established in
the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and
after much search, and many di-
sputes, have concluded it to be
the best in the world; not onely
in the Community, as Christian,
but also in the speciall notion, as
reformed; keeping the middle
way between the pomp of super-
stitious Tyranny, and the mean-
nesse of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught be-
ing excellent as to the maine,
both for Doctrine and Govern-
ment in the Church of *England*)
some lines, as in very good figures,
may haply need some sweetning,
or polishing; which might here
have easily been done by a safe
and gentle hand; if some mens
precipitancy had not violently
demanded such rude alterations,
as would have quire destroyed
all the beauty and proportions of
the whole.

The

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily Answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse of present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeite and disorderly Zeale abate your value and esteem of true Piety; both of them are to be *known by their fruits*;

fruits; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertaine any averfation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much biaffed by Faction in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary oppressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedom and Honour, which

which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent, without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve ourselves, because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Right, but God in his severe justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to
weare

weare a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of Your honour will consist in Your referring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deserved well of Me chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be
pleased

pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdomes ; a Repairer by Your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickednesse of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State ; to the Crown; the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons ; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven ; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the
artifice

artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horroure will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miste of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will finde them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me,

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appeares, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bleſſe You, and establish Your Kingdomes in righteousness, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Farther, that loves You: and once a KING

of

of three flourishing Kingdomes ; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities , and an untimely death for them ; while I studyed to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God. is dearer to Me then a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but goe before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

S Farewell,

Farewell, till We meet, if not
on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death,*
after the Votes of Non-Ad-
resses, and His MAJES-
STIES closer Imprison-
ment in Carisbrooke-
Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so
I have cause more then en-
ough to meditate upon, and pre-
pare for my Death : for I know
there are but few steps betweene
the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which
gives Me the space, but Mans
cruelty, that gives Me the sad
occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common bur-
then of mortality, which lies upon
Me, as a Man ; I now bear the
heavy load of other mens ambi-
tions, feares, jealousies, and cruell
passions,

passions, whose envy or enmity against Me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled; and the speciall horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can

put

put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysinous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorne, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live; true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to

die

die daily, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meales, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of fallity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but

little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts; for which life it self seemes desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while wee are in this body; and which are lessened

lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampson's* Lyon, but they yeeld much sweetnesse to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may converse with God.

That I must dye as a Man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years; in the midt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revisers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead; is so probable in humane reason, that God

hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to dye; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenesse of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mocke-

ry

ry of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies, to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem

to wath their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man ; and I believe in their own consciences too, while they carryed on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied only to disguise at first the monstrosuſſe of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My selfe with the Church and State by My Word, or not suffer them to doe it unresisted by the

the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfy, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles, which some men seeke to erect (at once, weak, sharpe, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall blood of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will finde him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them; who knowes them to bee exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth)

Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as. in opposing Me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, shall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes

wayes pleaded My cause ; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sinne was their onely security ; who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that hee gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge, and victory over My Destroyers : By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them ; that God would not impute My bloud to them further

ther then to convince them, what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor of what they please to call Justice ; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives and designs by My Death : forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of violent death may passe from Me , as that of his wrath may passe from all those , whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled , or by acting
and

and consenting to My death are embued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I thinke becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glo^{ry} attending my death will farre surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadowes of my earthly Kingdomes

Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdome with himselfe.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary tyranny of My destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against Me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know, how to excuse My failings as a Man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to Me as their King; they being no religious necessity bidding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publique; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions

bitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill-dealings against Me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nayles beene so cruell as to cut off their chiefeest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once murdering against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest of people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdaine of their ill-gotten and worse-used

Autho-

Authority : upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in My peace, which I trust is made with God ; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not feare to appeare , as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causlesse Enemies : where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy , who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters , then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions ; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of
My

My Cause, and clearnesse of My conscience before God and toward My People, will carry Me as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the deligne. The prosperous Winds which oft fill the Sayls of Pirates, doth not justifie their Piracy and Rapine.

I looke upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honour of Parliament, the rights of My Crown, the just liberty of My Subjects, and the true Christian Religion, in its Doctrine, Government, and
due

due encouragements , then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborne them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take , and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to Me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to My Enemies , then My Friends ; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life ; wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling Me ; for whom I have hitherto
suf-

suffered : as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death with **My** Saviour, it is but mortality Crowned with Martyrdome : where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept ; and although death be the wages of My own sinne, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Me ; yet as I hope My owne sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable

ble over them, then their il-man-
aged victories over Me.

Though their sin be prospe-
rous, yet they had need to be pe-
nitent, that they may be pardon-
ed : Both which I pray God
they may obtaine ; that My tem-
porall death unjustly afflicted by
them, may not be revenged by
Gods just inflicting eternall death
upon them : for I look upon the
temporall destruction of the grea-
test King, as far lesse deprecable,
then the eternall damnation of
the meanest Subject.

Nor doe I wish other, then the
safe bringing of the ship to shore,
when they have cast Me over-
board ; though it be very strange,
that Mariners can finde no o-
ther means to appease the storme
themselves have raised, but by
drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cru-
elty cannot prevent My prepa-
ration ; whose malice in this I
shall

shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soule with My Body; of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying Me the assistance of any of My Chaplaines, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed My accessse to the Throne of Heaven.

where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither feare nor feelee any evill, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man: to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone. who art the Almighty and Immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a men to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrors of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast

T

made

made Christ unto me in life, gaine;
and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their
duty to thee and me yet doe not thou,
O Lord, forget to be mercifull to
them.

For, what profit is there in my
blood, or in their gaining my King-
domes, if they lose their own Soules?

Such as have not only resisted my
just Power, but wholly usurped and
turned it against my self, though they
may deserve, yet let them not receive
to themselves damnation.

Thou makest thy Son a Saviour to
many, that Crucified Him, while at
once he suffered violently by them,
and yet willingly for them.

O let the voyce of his blood be
heard for My Murthers, louder then
the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due
convictions of their sin, and let them
not at once deceive and damne their
owne Soules by fallacious pretexts
of Justice in destroying me, while the

con-

conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my bloud, O sprinkle their polluted yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angell may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me: yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies:

where being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we

shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies;

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.



A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall God ! to whom nothing is so great that it may resist ; or so small, that it is contemned ; look upon my misery with thine eye of mercy , and let thy infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto me , as to thee shall seem most convenient ; let not injury , ó Lord, triumph over me ; and let my faults by thy hand be corrected ; and make not my unjust Enemies the Ministers of thy justice ; But yet my God, if in thy wisdom , this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgression ; if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for my over-high ; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, ó Lord, I yeild unto thy will , and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have

me to suffer : Onely thus much let
me crave of thee (let my craving o
Lord, be accepted of, since it even
proceeds from thee ; that by thy good-
nesse which is thy selfe, thou wilt
suffer some beame of thy majesty to
shine in my mind, that I, who ac-
knowledge it my noblest Title to be
thy Creature, may still, in my greatest
afflictions, depend confidently on thee.
Let calamity be the exercise but not
the overthrow of my virtue: o let not
their prevailing power be to my de-
struction: and if it be thy will that
they more and more vex me with
punishment; yet, o Lord, never let
their wickednesse have such a hand,
but that I may still carry a pure
mind, and stedfast resolution ever to
serve thee, without feare or presump-
tion, yet with that humble confidence
which may best please thee; so that at
the last i may come to thine eternall
kingdom, through the merits of thy
Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ.
Amen.

A Prayer and Confession, made
in and for the times of
affliction.

A Almighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely thy goodnesse that admits of our imperfect Prayers; & the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, no man having been so much obliged by thee, no man more grievously offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For, was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worship, to be set up in Scotland? And injured the Bishops in England? 6

no ; but with shame and griefe I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right informed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies ; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faulty : Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou maiest clear they way for thine own mercies, to which O let thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the meane time give me patience to endure, constancy against temptations, and a discerning Spirit, to chuse what is best for thy Church and Peop'e, which thou hast committed to my charge : Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy son Iesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour. Amen.

¶ A Prayer in time of imminent danger.

O Most mercifull father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present great danger; yet, O Lord, since thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish my transgressions, to despaire of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy divine majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all my sins, but also free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruell Enemies. But if thy wrath against my heinous offences will not otherwayes be satisfied then by suffering me to fall under my present afflictions, thy will be done; Yet with

humble importunity, I doe, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that my cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through my weaknesse, or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Tryall, that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my salvation hereafter: Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for me, even Iesus Christ the righteous. Amen.

A Copy of a Letter which was
sent from the P R I N C E
to the K I N G.

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesty's present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints or (which is as uncertaine) report, I have sent
this

this Bearer Seamour to wait upon
your Majesty ; and to bring me an
account of it : that I may withall as-
sure your Majesty, I doe not onely
pray for your Majesty according to my
Duty ; but shall alwayes be ready to
doe all which shall bee in my power,
to deserve that blessing which I now
humbly beg of your Majesty upon

S I R,

Your Majesties most humble
and
most obedient Sonne
and Servant,

C H A R L E S.

H A G V G E,

Jan. 23. 1648.

The Subscription was thus,

[For the K^{ing}.]

H^h



*His Majesties Reasons against the
pretended Jurisdiction of the high
Court of Justice, which he inten-
ded to deliver in writing
on Munday, Jan. 22.*

1648.

HAVING already made My protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer My selfe to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty

Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his owne; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Laws of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*; for, I wil not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a believe upon My Subjects.

There



*His Majesties Reasons against the
pretended Jurisdiction of the high
Court of Justice, which he inten-
ded to deliver in writing
on Munday Jan. 22.*

1648.

HAVING already made My protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer My selfe to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty

Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his owne; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Laws of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*; for, I wil not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a beliefe upon My Subjects.

There

* There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Lawes, or the municipall Lawes of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law; for on the contrary the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: & for the question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8.4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirme that an Impeachment can lie against the KING, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims

* *Hereabouts I was slept, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority, warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land, hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it selfe (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Lawes without KING or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdome; and in this way you manifestly
wrong

wrong the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent (at least of the major part) of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so farre are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My owne right alone, as I am your K I N G, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publike Faith that (I believe)

lieve) ever was heard of, with which I am farre from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, beare date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with My owne just rights.

Then for any thing I can see, the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well knowne that the major part of them are detained or deterr'd from sitting; so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for mee to protest against the

the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts; and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred yeares? (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against me do go on;) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thanke you for this change; for they will remember how happy they have beene of late years under the Reigne of *Q. Elizabeth*, the **K I N G** My Father, and My self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new government. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend

defend the fundamentall Lawes
of this Kingdome, against those
who have supposed My power
hath totally changed the ancient
Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly
the Reasons, why I cannot submit
to your pretended Authority
without violating the trust which
I have from God, for the welfare
and liberty of my People; I expect
from you either clear Reasons to
convince My judgement, shewing
Me that I am in an Error (and
then truly I will readily answer)
or that you will withdraw your
proceedings.

*This I intended to speake in
Westminster hall on Munday.
22. January; but against rea-
son was hindered to shew My
Reasons.*

Munday

Munday, Janu. 29. 1648.

*A Relation of what passed between
his Majesty, the Lady Elizabeth,
and the Duke of Gloucester, the
day before His Death.*

HIS Majesties Children being come to meet Him, he first gave His blessing to the Lady Elizabeth; and bade Her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more looke upon Charles as his elder Brother onely, but be obedient unto Him, as his Sovereigne; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to Her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Teares,
pro-

promised him to write down the
Particulars.

Then the KING taking the
Duke of *Gloucester* upon his Knece,
said, Sweet-heart, now they will
cut off thy Fathers Head ; (Upon
which words the Child looked
very steadfastly on Him.) Marke
Child what I say, they will cut off
My Head, and perhaps make thee
a King : But marke what I say,
You must not be a King, so long
as your Brother *Charles* and *James*
doe live ; For they will cut off
your Brothers Heads when they
can catch them, and cut off thy
Head too at last : and therefore, I
charge you, doe not be made a
King by them. At which the
Child, sighing, said, *I will be torn
in pieces first.* Which falling so un-
expectedly from one so young,
it made the KING rejoyce ex-
ceedingly.

Ano-

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Ano

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own hand.

WHAT the KING said to Me the nine and twentieth of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him; He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing. Because he feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to Me. He wished Me not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrewes* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie*, and Bishop *Lauds* Book against
Episcopacie

Fisher; which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of My Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He bid Me tell My Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, & that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded Me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given Me His blessing, I took my leave.

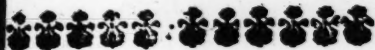
Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own soules; And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a Martyr, and

and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember. *Elizabeth.*

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

The KING said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him that He heard that the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

An



An *Epitaph* on the KING,
 who was beheaded at *White-hall*,
 on Tuesday, *Jan. 30.* and buried
 at *Windsor* on Saturday
Febr. 17. 1648.

WHom Scotlands ayre brought
 forth, and Englands nurst,
 Interr'd at Windsor, here lies
CHARLES the first.

The Starre, the Garter, and what
 Kings did weare,
 Or give of Honour, must lye buried
 here;

The George of England, And the
 Knights bright Spurre
 Must lodge for ever by this Se-
 pulchre.

Unlesse some Phœnix springing
 from his Dust

From Night shall rayse them, and
 wipe off their Rust.

What's left by Death unconquerd, we
 may look,

V

And

And learn to practise from thy
Royall Book.

For never Axe as yet was so in-
kind

To claime that sharpnesse as to touch
the Mind.

Here he breathes holy fires, and free
from feares

Forgives our Rudenesse, and forbids
our Teares;

Teares court but Graves, which if to
Earth we pay

For Charles in Heaven, our Teares
mistake their way;

No Tomb needs speak his praise, An
Angells wing

Lends the best help to Epitaphe the
Ring,

which whiles the scornfull doe de-
mand what 'tis;

Religion answers, and sayes sure tis
this.

If this Land lend not a more con-
trite groane

This Land is Marble, though Him-
selfe hath none.

Another



Another Epitaph upon
King CHARLES.

SO falls that stately Cedar,
while it stand,
That was the onely glory of the
wood;
Great CHARLES, thou earthly
God, Celestiall Man,
Whose life like others, though it
were a span:
Yet in that span, was compre-
bended more
Then Earth bath waters, or the
Ocean shore.
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels
should rehearse,
It is a theme too high for hu-
mane Verse:

He

He that would know Thee
right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare incomparable
Book,
And read it o're and o're;
which if he doe,
He'l finde Thee King, and
Priest, and Prophet too;
And sadly see our losse, and
though in vain,
With fruitlesse wishes, call
Thee back again.
Nor shall oblivion sit upon Thy
Herse,
Though there were neither
Monument nor Verse.
Thy sufferings and Thy death
let no man name;
It was Thy glory, but the
Kingdom's shame.

12 DEC 63

J. H.

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